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INDEX

Page: 1

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in index.  
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not listed  
in index  
#69 is in box #4

E.S.

4/18

Oversize  
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not listed  
in index.

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4/18

FROM: THE COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY  
285 Madison Avenue  
New York, N.Y.

#1 X-E 740  
FOR RELEASE C 6 1  
Sunday, Dec. 15th, 1940

COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY STUDY  
WARNS AGAINST BLANKET BAN  
ON ANTI-DEMOCRATIC GROUPS

A blanket ban on meetings of all anti-democratic groups in this country would be a strategic mistake and an unnecessary violation of our traditional freedom of assembly, according to the first of a series of memoranda on current national problems issued today by the Council For Democracy.

Released on the 149th anniversary of the proclamation of the Bill of Rights, the memorandum represents the opinions and research of a panel of leading scholars in various fields of the social sciences on the question: "Shall Nazis, Communists and other anti-democratic groups in the United States be allowed to meet?"

According to Dr. Carl J. Friedrich, chairman of the Council's Committee of Correspondence, which directed the preparation of the report, the purpose of the memorandum is to survey the alternative proposals for action which have been advanced. Although it does not recommend any specific measure, the report concludes that "the evidence presented by the consultants tends to prove that a complete ban on anti-democratic groups generally succeeds only in driving them underground, where they gain in glamour and secrecy of operation."

"The public meeting of anti-democratic groups," the memorandum says, "accompanied at times by uniforms and drills, should be regarded merely as manifestations of a more deeply-rooted disorder. In treating these symptoms, we should recognize that we are not curing the disease."

The memorandum lists a number of regulations concerning the

X-E 740

Council for democracy. C 6  
Committee of Correspondence.

The

Legal Aspects

of

Freedom of Assembly

#12

PAMPHLET  
COLLECTIONS

A special supplement to the memorandum issued by the Committee of Correspondence of the Council For Democracy on the question:

"Should Nazis, Communists  
and other Anti-Democratic  
Groups in This Country be  
Allowed to Meet?"

285 Madison Avenue,  
New York City

December 19, 1940

PROPERTY OF  
THE SENATE OF CONGRESS

X-E 740  
C 6

#3

SHALL NAZIS, COMMUNISTS AND  
OTHER ANTI-DEMOCRATIC GROUPS  
IN THE UNITED STATES  
BE ALLOWED TO MEET?

MAILED  
12/15/40

A memorandum  
on the freedom of peaceable assembly  
prepared in consultation with members  
of the national panel of consultants  
of its Committee of Correspondence  
under the auspices of  
THE COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

New York  
December 15,  
1940

#4  
X-F-770  
C6

# A NEW YEAR'S RESOLUTION FOR AMERICA

By WALTER MILLIS

*Delivered for the Council For Democracy by James Cagney on the Red Network  
of the National Broadcasting Company, January 1, 1941*

THE year now opening may well prove to be the most critical in the history of the modern world. That is the simple, if tremendous, fact. What great changes it may witness, what events it may bring, what victories or what surrenders, we do not know. But we can be sure that they will be far-reaching. We can be sure that whatever the world may look like on January 1, 1942, it will not look as it does today. This new year before us may be decisive—decisive for the whole future of the United States, and decisive for that way of life which we sum up as “the democratic system.”

Democracy is a word of many meanings, of many values. To each one of us it presents different freedoms, different hopes; it has for each of us its different pains and difficulties as well. It has been defined in many different ways. But running through all the definitions is the same central idea. Democracy is a way in which men and women can organize themselves by their own consent for the multiple tasks of modern living. It is a way in which they can live their lives and do their work because they want to live and work in that way and not because they are whipped by slave-drivers or bamboozled by wars and propaganda ministers.

Our political campaigns and our systems of voting, our independent courts and established laws, our uncensored press and radio, our independent trade unions and countless other organizations, our guarantees of individual liberties—no one of these things may seem of overwhelming importance by itself. Why should anyone exert himself for civil liberties that are very often infringed, or for courts that frequently give wrong or narrow decisions, or for the right to vote when the individual's vote is but a drop in a vast sea of other votes whose verdict can be read anyhow in the public opinion polls beforehand? Why? For no reason, except that all these things, added together, do make up a system of government by the consent of each one of us, a system by which men and women do the things they must do, not because a pistol is held at their heads, but because they agree to the basic principles of their society.

Democracy is a system. But it is also a conviction—a conviction that we can guide our own destiny, even in these extraordinarily complicated times that modern science and invention and organization have created for us. All of us have been brought up in this conviction; it has been a part of the air we have breathed; it has been so much an element of our daily lives that few of us have realized how rare and now splendid that conviction is. But we are learning fast. We have seen great governments and large areas of the world turn their backs upon the whole concept of democracy. “Democracy is too difficult,” say the dictators. “It is a

fine idea, but it is too hard to make it work today. In the modern world of machinery, of specialization, of great masses of men related by complicated economic ties, we can't handle anything so human and free as democracy. We have to tell people what is good for them, and have the concentration camp and the castor oil, secret police and the machine guns, ready to take care of those who make difficulties. This,” say the dictators, “is the only way by which whole nations can today be made to work together, fight together and be kept quiet.”

That is the new conviction which has been arising in the world. That is what is being said and what is being enforced upon our society by heavy artillery and bombing planes. The democratic idea, which we had all taken for granted as a natural part of our existence, is being challenged with a directness, an immediacy and a power which a dozen years ago would have been incredible. And this year 1941 will very probably decide whether that challenge is to succeed or fail, whether this world of ours is to be organized by the consent of brave and free men or to be organized by force and fraud, because narrow and little men have quailed before the problems of the time and found no solution.

As we stand upon the threshold of this great year, we inevitably think of New Year's Resolutions. New Year's Resolutions have become little more than a joke for the comic papers. But at this New Year there is one resolution which is no joke, which all Americans not only can make, but which they can keep through every day of the year to come. This is the resolution that the democratic system, the democratic concept of life, the democratic conviction that modern life can be a free and successful collaboration of men and women, shall not perish from this earth. Each one of us can make that resolution—whether on the production-line, in the office, on the farm or in the home—each doing his own job in our great society to the best of his ability.

Each one of us as an individual has a stake in Democracy, but it is only when all of us know this, believe in it and are willing to pledge a year's Resolution to defending it, that Democracy can continue to be ours.

Let us resolve that every day we will be willing to make Democracy work—to use in every daily act the democratic methods of reason, of collaboration, of consent in managing our own lives. That is a New Year's Resolution worth making and worth keeping. We ask you to make it—we ask you to keep it.

Democracy is the personal vision of all of us. Democracy is the promise of our great nation. To the fulfillment of those visions, to the realization of that promise—to Democracy—we pledge ourselves for 1941.

FROM: COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY  
285 Madison Avenue  
New York, N. Y.  
Murray Hill 3-2465

FOR RELEASE

SATURDAY P.M. JANUARY 18, 1941

FACTS ABOUT DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES  
TO BE MAILED TO DICTATORSHIPS

-0-

Democracy Group Will Test International  
Postal Agreements in Effort to  
Counteract Propaganda

New York - January 18. A plan for utilizing international postal agreements in order to send facts about democracy into Germany, Italy and Russia was announced today (Saturday) by C. D. Jackson, President of the Council For Democracy.

Pointing out that these nations were exploiting the International Postal Convention in order to send anti-American propaganda into this country at the expense of American taxpayers, Mr. Jackson declared that there was no reason why Americans should not expect reciprocal treatment.

In a statement made public by Mr. Jackson, the Council reported that, "as a signatory to the International Postal Convention, the United States Government must undertake free delivery of all postal matter on which the postal rate is paid and collected in the country of origin. Under this agreement, the Nazi regime in Germany has been printing millions of copies of propaganda leaflets and letters, and affixing to the envelopes stamps it prints at small cost to itself. This material is then shipped to the United States via Siberia and Japan, and across the Pacific. Here it is sorted by American postal clerks, hauled on American railroads, and delivered by American postmen. All of this work is done at the expense of the American Taxpayer."

The Council declared that, while the United States Government cannot refuse to deliver this material without violating a treaty agreement, "Americans themselves must take steps to put a reciprocity program into action."

"The Council For Democracy proposes, therefore, to bring the truth to the peoples suffering in ignorance under the dictatorships of Germany, Italy and Russia," the statement continued. "It proposes to take advantage of the very same treaty that the Nazi propaganda machine is now exploiting to the utmost."

Pro-democracy messages will be routed via the Far East to Germany, Italy and Russia under United States postage, the Council said, adding: "If these countries are sincere in their adherence to the treaty they now exploit, this mail should be delivered rapidly and without any censorship whatever, as in this country."

The Council stated that, in its communications abroad, "it will make no

FROM: COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY  
285 Madison Avenue  
New York , N. Y.

Murray Hill 3-2465

January 18, 1941.

TOTALITARIAN ABUSE OF INTERNATIONAL POSTAL AGREEMENTS

A Statement by the Council For Democracy

The people of the United States are paying the cost of propaganda undermining their own security. As a signatory to the International Postal Convention, The United States Government must undertake free delivery of all postal matter on which the postal rate is paid and collected in the country of origin.

Under this agreement, the Nazi regime in Germany has been printing millions of copies of propaganda leaflets and letters, and affixing to the envelopes stamps it prints at small cost to itself. This material is then shipped to the United States via Siberia and Japan, and across the Pacific to this country. Here it is sorted by American postal clerks, hauled on American railroads, and delivered by American postmen. All of this work is done at the expense of the American taxpayer.

This system was unobjectionable so long as it remained reciprocal -- so long as Americans could do the same thing with Germany. There has been no such reciprocity for years. The United States, being a democratic nation, does not censor mail. The National Socialist Government of Germany, being a totalitarian dictatorship, has censored all mail falling into its hands since 1933. Anti-democracy propaganda can be shipped here from Germany at will. Can the truth about democracy be mailed to Germany?

According to information received at the offices of the Council For Democracy, the Nazis propaganda machine in Germany has huge lists of Americans to whom pro-Nazi and anti-democratic propaganda is regularly mailed. From Berlin and Munich the flow has reached a crescendo in terms of quantity. The same technique is employed by the Soviet Union and by the Fascist government of Italy.



# COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

MURRAY HILL 3-2465  
285 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

September 30, 1941

#7

Dear Friend of the Council For Democracy:

The recent statement of the America First Committee defending Charles A. Lindbergh's Des Moines speech, in which Mr. Lindbergh singled out a religious group as "warmongers", seems conclusive evidence that the America First Committee is resorting to the anti-democratic tactic of fostering group prejudice among the American people.

The Council For Democracy feels strongly that every instance of this anti-democratic technique must be spiked at the outset, whether it occurs among interventionists or isolationists. We feel, as you undoubtedly do, that the American people must be constantly warned against the dangers inherent in these attempts to ape the well-known Nazi methods of divide and rule.

In an effort to put an end to these bigoted and sinister attacks, I have written an open letter in the name of the Council For Democracy, to General Robert E. Wood, National Chairman of the America First Committee, condemning his group's injection of an anti-democratic issue into the isolationist-interventionist debate.

I am enclosing a copy of this letter in the belief that you, too, will want to do your part in this effort. May I urge that you bring this letter to the attention of your local newspaper editors so that they may give it further publicity. It may be that you would prefer to revise it somewhat as a letter to the editor over your own signature. Either way, you will be doing an invaluable service to the democracy which we are determined to maintain in America.

Sincerely yours,

Ernest Angell, President  
COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

RAYMOND GRAM SWING, *Chairman*      ERNEST ANGELL, *President*      C. D. JACKSON, *Chairman of the Board*  
CARL J. FRIEDRICH, *Chairman, Executive Committee*      EVANS CLARK, *Secretary*      PERCY S. BROWN, *Treasurer*  
*Executive Committee:* ERNEST ANGELL, PERCY S. BROWN, LYMAN BRYSON, CASS CANFIELD, JOHN FARRAR, GEORGE  
M. HARRISON, C. D. JACKSON, WALTER MILLIS, GEORGE N. SHUSTER, RAYMOND GRAM SWING, ROBERT J. WATT

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Address of Rear Admiral Richard E. Byrd, under  
the auspices of the Council for Democracy, delivered  
Wednesday, October 8, from 10:15 to 10:30 P.M. EST, over  
WABC and the Columbia Broadcasting System.

DISUNITY THE WARMONGER

NOV 10 1941

The unfortunate term, "warmonger," is being hurled in an ever-increasing tempo at men and groups throughout the land. The word is an effective and plausible propaganda device, but it is based upon a fallacious argument. It is beginning to have an adverse effect on our defense efforts, just at a time when it is vital that we double our production man-hours, and, because I am concerned about this, I am using part of my annual leave from my regular naval duties in order to talk to you as an unprejudiced private citizen.

In order to unmask the warmonger fallacy and show you who the real warmongers are, I must draw for you a picture of two great national perils to which so many millions in this country still seem to be asleep.

First, there is the obvious and much debated possibility of a physical invasion of the United States by the Nazi army. But there is a much less obvious but perhaps an even more pressing hazard of invasion of America by the Nazi idea. These national dangers exist because there is a definite reason why Nazism must decree the death of our way of life. That reason is more fundamental, more urgent, than Hitler's known lust to conquer the United States.

America's death sentence is inherent in the evil philosophy of National Socialism - in the Nazi idea that might is the only right, and that therefore the Christ idea is wrong. Hitler has decreed the death of American democracy because liberty must die if Nazism is to survive. We all know that his lust for power is a strong enough reason for his desiring the enslavement of the American people, but few seem to realize that his instinct of self-preservation supplies him with a more primitive and even stronger motive.

Let me explain further. Hitler knows that, to consolidate his victories, he must keep the peoples he has conquered under his heel. He knows that with so many millions of slaves to control he can only do this if he kills all hope in them. He knows that he can not do that so long as America's light of liberty shines over Europe as a beacon of hope for all who are enslaved. Unless he exterminates the spirit of freedom everywhere, democracy will rise triumphant in the end. Thus Hitler can not allow a great citadel of liberty to survive anywhere in the world. He knows that it is either death for liberty or death for himself and Nazism.

Each of Hitler's victories makes more enemies for him. Tortured humanity and violated democracy, like the mills of the gods, grind slowly but they grind exceeding fine.

Council For Democracy - 285 Madison Avenue - New York

X-E 740

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HQ



December 9, 1941

Dear Friend of the Council For Democracy:

For your information we are enclosing a copy of the statement, "This Is Our Answer," formulated by the Council immediately after our declaration of war against Japan. This statement was published as an advertisement in the New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune, Tuesday, December 9.

"This Is Our Answer" expresses the sincere and heartfelt convictions of the Council and is an indication of the general line of effort which the Council will follow from now on. We feel sure that the statement also expresses your own deep feelings.

In view of the deadly peril which our country faces, the Council earnestly believes that the convictions expressed in this statement should be given the widest possible dissemination and we urge you to pass this copy along to your friends when you have finished reading it.

Ernest Angell  
President

Gift  
Publisher

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# THIS IS OUR ANSWER

This is the crisis of our world. We have answered wanton attack by our declaration of war. We mean to see that war through to a finish. But the attack upon us is not just an attack by a single nation. It is part and parcel of a ruthless, world-wide pattern of conquest. It means that the democratic way of life we have cherished and the totalitarian way of life proclaimed by the Axis leaders cannot live together anywhere in the same world.

It isn't easy for peaceable Americans to believe that. But now we belong to all free mankind. If the world itself is to be a place where a free man can hold up his head, we have to help make it so, with our own blood and sweat and tears.

We have tried to solve a specific problem between two nations by peaceful negotiation. That was right and just. But the bombs on Pearl Harbor are the final answer to all those who ever believed that tyranny and democracy can share the same seas, can breathe the same air.

Remains the vast task for all Americans. We stand united today, every man and woman. This is the end of

appeasement, of disunity, of tolerance of the pro-Fascists in our midst. Yet we shall preserve our democratic ways at home.

Where is our essential strength? It is in the very factors that seemed, at times, to be our weakness. Because we all spoke our minds, we were thought divided. Today is the answer. The resolution that moves the American people today was not handed down from above by any one man. It is the groundswell of all the people—it comes from the grass-roots and the alleys and the houses of little towns. It comes and it keeps on coming. That is our huge weapon.

The long struggle will be the giant testing ground for all we believe and love, for all we have built for two centuries, and for the future we mean to build. We shall not abandon our democratic faith, either during this war, or when this war is done. No matter what we must face, we mean to see that democracy shall live and grow. The issue is grimly plain. But we shall go forward—not in vengeance, not merely to destroy, but to build a free world for all men.

## COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

285 Madison Avenue, New York City • *RAYMOND GRAM SWING, National Chairman*

Council For Democracy - 285 Madison Avenue - New York

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#10



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President

Gift  
Publisher  
DEC 23 1941

X-10 7-  
C 6  
#13

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## COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

285 Madison Avenue, New York City • *RAYMOND GRAM SWING, National Chairman*

FROM: THE COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY  
285 Madison Avenue  
New York, N.Y.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

# 11  
RE 7-11

C 5

PRO-DEMOCRACY GROUP PLANS

NATIONWIDE YOUTH PROGRAM

A series of conferences with national leaders in the field of education will be held during the next few days in Washington by the Council For Democracy to work out an effective, nationwide program of pro-Democracy work among educational institutions and youth organizations, it was announced today by C. D. Jackson, president of the Council.

Dr. Herbert C. Mayer, who recently joined the Council as director of its Education and Youth activities, will confer with officials of the American Council of Education, the American Educational Association, and the Government Office of Education.

The aim of the Council's program will be to coordinate pro-Democracy activities already underway in schools and youth groups and to initiate new projects designed to stimulate active participation in the promotion and defense of Democracy, Dr. Mayer explained.

Dr. Mayer, who will have charge of the Council's program in this field, is an educator of long standing. For ten years he was Professor of Secondary Education at Boston University. More recently he has been associated with the Harvard School of Education, specializing in vocational training. During the first World War he served in the Air Corps and for several years was education and training director of the Curtiss Flying Service. He is consultant to several large corporations on personnel and training and has had practical business experience as president of a Boston chemical manufacturing concern. He is former vice-president of the Athletic Federation of America which he helped to form.

\* \* \* \* \*

# Council For Democracy - 285 Madison Avenue - New York

X-E 740

C 6

#12

General Robert E. Wood  
National Chairman, America First Committee  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear General Wood:

The statement issued recently by the America First Committee supporting Mr. Lindbergh's Des Moines speech marks the adoption by your Committee of the Nazi technique of dividing this country by fostering prejudice on the part of one group of Americans against another. Mr. Lindbergh did foster that prejudice in his speech. Your Committee's statement fails to repudiate his anti-democratic incitement to bigotry and division.

The Nazis have used this device again and again with alarming success in every country which was the object of their covetousness. Every man in some interest is a member of a minority group. Yesterday's attack upon the Jews leads to tomorrow's attack upon the Catholics, the Masons, the Negroes, the bankers, the trade unions, the foreign-born. To accuse any group as such is a strategem of fear, terror and defeat. The attack upon any group is a menace to the whole.

Your Committee, which has a clear right to advocate a certain foreign policy for this country, should have seized this occasion to repudiate an irrelevant and anti-democratic issue injected into this debate by one of your distinguished members. Your evasion ranges you, whether deliberately or unwittingly, on the side of the Nazis who work to destroy democracy at its very roots. Unless you promptly and completely disavow the use of this anti-democratic technique, henceforth you will be known as enemies of the democratic spirit in America.

The Council For Democracy supports the declared national policy of resistance to the aggressors. The Council also supports your right freely to express your views on foreign policy. But it joins with the vast majority of Americans in condemning any attempt to split our country into warring factions which would be unable to unite in the face of common danger.

Very truly yours,

Ernest Angell  
President  
For Council For Democracy



FROM: THE COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY  
285 Madison Avenue  
New York, N.Y.

X-E 740  
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#13

MEMORANDUM FOR EDITORS

This material is simply background description of the organization, plan of action, and financial backing of the Council For Democracy, for your information. It does not cover the actual activity in progress or in the planning stage. Full details of these projects will be brought to your attention in the form of publicity releases.

Any questions regarding the Council and its work may be directed to me as publicity representative. If I am not available, the following executives may be reached for comment:

C. D. Jackson, President  
285 Madison Avenue, New York City  
Murray Hill 3-2465

Francis Smith, Secretary to the Executive Committee  
285 Madison Avenue, New York City  
Murray Hill 3-2465

Our aim is to cooperate to the fullest extent with the press in making available to the public information not only on the work of the Council, but all pro-democracy activity.

JAMES FULLER

#14

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

MEMORANDUM ON FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY

Prepared By

THE COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

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C 6

Pages

Introduction to the Problem

1 - 4

Responsible Americans today face the perplexing problems whether or not to allow anti-democratic groups to hold meetings freely.

On the one hand, they know that such meetings often stir up class and race hatred and may strengthen the enemies of our democratic way of life.

On the other hand, to protect democracy by denying such groups the right to meet may pave the way for the destruction of our traditional code of civil liberties. What is to prevent such restrictions from being applied to groups which are simply unpopular?

Even in ordinary times, the right of free assembly is not absolute. In times of tension no simple formula will serve to re-define that right satisfactorily. Grave problems of strategy as well as constitutional guarantees must be considered.

Historical Background

4 - 8

From the beginning of constitutional self-government, the right of free assembly has been vital. In this country, it is recognized as one of the essential attributes of citizenship.

In the years of our industrial growth, the most serious issues involving freedom of assembly have grown out of labor's demand for the right to organize and strike.

The World War

8 - 11

In the hysteria of war, freedom of assembly along with freedom of speech was denied indiscriminately to many groups without regard to their effect on the nation's war effort. The post-war period, too, gave many the opportunity to find an outlet for their tensions by persecuting political minorities.

The resilience with which civil liberties were later restored, however, offers no guarantee for the future.

#15

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140

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# Council for Democracy

*A Brief Statement of  
Aims and Activities*

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#17

# Council For Democracy

*Dedicated to the Propagation  
of an American Faith in  
Democracy*



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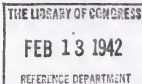
# COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

285 MADISON AVENUE • MURRAY HILL 3-2465 • NEW YORK

✓  
Arch  
#18

February 11, 1942

Mr. Archibald MacLeish  
Librarian of Congress  
Washington, D.C.



Dear Mr. MacLeish:

Here is an assignment that you are especially well equipped to perform. We are starting a new "Letters-to-the-Editor" project, with a group of key correspondents who will express their pro-democratic views through the public press and thus help solidify public opinion on important current problems.

Will you be a member of this group?

Our key correspondents will include the informed men and women throughout the country whose judgment we respect, whose devotion to the democratic way of life is unquestioned, and whose opinions would carry weight. As a member of the group, you will be asked merely to exercise your freedom of expression (through letters to the press) to help bolster our national unity and morale in the present crisis.

The enclosed bulletin illustrates the type of material that is desirable. You will notice we are not dictating a letter for you but are simply indicating topics that deserve discussion and suggesting some of the arguments and source material that could be used.

This is the first of a series of bulletins which will be sent to our correspondents at regular intervals. You may not receive every one in the series as we do not want to overload you. But we do ask your cooperation, whenever a bulletin is sent you, in writing your letter to the press along with our other correspondents so that the total impact of our messages will have a strong influence on public opinion.

We should welcome any ideas you may have for suitable topics, and, indeed, any suggestions for the plan as a whole. We'd also like to have your suggestions of names of others who might be valued participants.

A return form is enclosed as well as the first bulletin of suggested topics. Will you do us the favor of returning the form, filled in, at your earliest convenience?

Gift  
Publisher

FEB 26 1942

Sincerely yours,

*A. R. Allen*  
A. R. Allen

RAYMOND GRAM SWING, *Chairman*  
CARL J. FRIEDRICH, *Chairman, Executive Committee*

ERNEST ANGELL, *President*  
EVANS CLARK, *Secretary*

C. D. JACKSON, *Chairman of the Board*  
PERCY S. BROWN, *Treasurer*

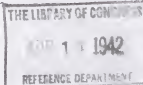
*Executive Committee:* ERNEST ANGELL, STEPHEN VINCENT BENÉT, PERCY S. BROWN, LYMAN BRYSON, CASS CANFIELD, JOHN FARRAR, GEORGE M. HARRISON, C. D. JACKSON, ARTHUR S. MEYER, WALTER MILLIS, GEORGE N. SHUSTER, RAYMOND GRAM SWING, ROBERT J. WATT

# COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

11 WEST 42nd STREET • WILSONSIN 7-1616 • NEW YORK

X-E 740

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April 7, 1942

#19

Archibald MacLeish,  
Library of Congress,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. MacLeish:

The other day we saw an advance copy of an article in the forthcoming issue of Life Magazine (out next Friday), which so impressed us that we are calling your especial attention to it.

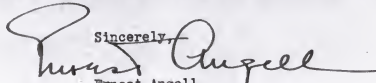
The article, "Voices of Defeat," deals calmly and objectively with a dozen dangerous individuals and organizations who are determined that America shall lose this war -- a determination which they express not by treason and sabotage, but by defeatism, division, and slander of our war aims.

We think this article ought to stimulate a vast amount of citizens' protests against these defeatists. In addition to making all possible use of it yourself, it should be called to the attention of editors, commentators, educators, community leaders, etc. And by all means include public officials, since they will take vigorous action only in response to vigorous public pressure.

Life doesn't pretend that this one piece covers the subject, and they are quite willing to consider treating it again in future issues. Therefore they would welcome any information about other individuals and movements which they overlooked, and especially any material describing how individual communities have handled similar problems themselves.

If you wish to send any such information on to us, we'll see that the magazine investigates it thoroughly and if possible includes it in any future stories.

Sincerely,

  
Ernest Angell  
President

ea;mp

P.S. You'll also be interested in the enclosed reprint of our ad in the New York Times. The man who put up the \$1,000 for it wants to remain anonymous, but we can vouch for him as a good citizen. He would like to see it in every paper in the country, but he isn't a millionaire and can't afford to. We hope you can help us give this message a wider hearing, or make such use of it as you can.

RAYMOND GRAM SWING, Chairman  
LYMAN BRYSON, Chairman, Executive Committee

ERNEST ANGELL, President  
EVANS CLARK, Secretary

C. D. JACKSON, Chairman of the Board  
PERCY S. BROWN, Treasurer

Executive Committee: ERNEST ANGELL, STEPHEN VINCENT BENÉT, PERCY S. BROWN, CASS CANFIELD, CARL J. FRIEDRICH, GEORGE M. HARRISON, C. D. JACKSON, WALTER MILLIS, GEORGE N. SHUSTER, RAYMOND GRAM SWING, ORDEWAY TEAD,

GIFT  
Publisher

ROBERT J. WATT

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MAY 28 1942

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#19

# How can YOU help win this war?

*Here's how one man answered this question for himself*

## The Thinking

I am a plain, private individual. I've spent many years abroad. *I know what totalitarianism means.*

In America, an individual still counts. And there are more than 130,000,000 of us. As a member of this multitude, what can I do—what can any one of us do—to help beat the Axis and all it stands for—to help America and her Allies win this terrible war?

## The Writing

I took a pencil and put down on paper all the questions I could think of which an American not in the armed forces ought to be asking himself if he is going to help win this war. When I got through, I found there were ten important ones. Here they are, as briefly as I could write them:

1. Do I realize we are fighting, not for conquest, but for our very existence as a people?
2. Have I stopped putting my personal profit above the national interest?
3. Am I willing to use my spare time (I do have to make a living) to cooperate in civilian defense work?
4. Am I determined (a) to stop grumbling about the job that's being done when I'm not sure of my facts, and (b) to send constructive suggestions to the proper authorities?
5. Am I being as careful as I can be about repeating groundless rumors that might obstruct the work or help the enemy?
6. Am I doing everything possible to economize in my use of essential materials—rubber, oil, electricity, etc.?
7. Am I trying to save waste materials—paper, tin cans, metal tubes, etc.—and to facilitate their collection by segregating them from other waste?
8. Am I buying Defense Bonds to the limit of my ability?
9. Am I contributing as much as possible to the Red Cross and other welfare organizations which need funds now more than ever?
10. Do I always and ever remember Pearl Harbor and my pledge to help pay back this treacherous assault a thousand times?

## The Doing

I myself am trying to answer YES to every one of these questions. I determined to publish them in this paper as a reminder to my fellow citizens who maybe have not had my experience, or time to think about what they can do now.

If they—you, I really mean—can, or will, answer YES to all my ten questions, we'll WIN THIS WAR—by getting behind the boys who are giving their lives to protect ours.

## We Stand Back Of This Man

He came to our office. He said he didn't want his name used because he wanted no personal publicity. We looked him up. We found he was a loyal, hard-working man who deeply appreciated the liberty which so many Americans take for granted, and which is now in such grave danger. We told him we would act as sponsor for him. He is paying for this space.

We urge you to take his questions and his message to heart and follow his example. Tear out this advertisement. Think about it. Keep it in your pocket. Show it to your friends. If you have facilities to reproduce it—in pamphlet form, in other newspapers, in business house-organs, or in any other way—please do it. You don't have to have his consent or ours.

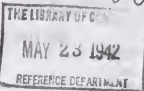


# COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

11 WEST 42nd STREET • WISCONSIN 7-1616 • NEW YORK

May 21, 1942

Library of Congress  
Accessions Division  
Washington, D. C.



Gentlemen,

This is a request for a loan . . .

A rather peculiar loan, secured by an airplane -- a P-40 fighter just about to get under way "somewhere in America".

This P-40 will go on the assembly line in a few days. In a few weeks -- if it is finished on schedule -- it will be on its way to MacArthur in Australia.

You will never see the plane. But I am assigning it to you as your security with perfect certainty that -- if it is finished on schedule -- you will feel that your loan is as good as if you were making it to your best friend.

What worries me at the moment is that phrase "on schedule".

A lot of men will be working on this P-40, and most of them will do their damndest to hurry it along to MacArthur. But there are two in the crowd who are not yet "sold" on their jobs.

JOE WELCH\* will do some of the electric wiring. Joe is a good American, but he still thinks this is a "capitalistic war" -- he's sure somebody is going to make a "pile of dough" out of it. So why should he work his fingers off for a couple of extra dollars a week to push P-40s down the line so some guy in Wall Street can soak away a couple of extra millions at the end of the war?

FRED GRUBER\* is a good American, too, but he was out of work for most of 1940 and had the devil's own time getting enough food for his two kids to eat. So when he got a message several months ago from his cousin Hans, who is one of Hitler's Storm Troopers, that everything in Hitler Germany was tops and why the hell should America fight

Gift  
Publisher

MAY 28 1942

\* These names are fictitious, of course.

RAYMOND GRAM SWING, *Honorary Chairman*  
LYMAN BRYSON, *Chairman, Executive Committee*

ERNEST ANGELL, *President*  
EVANS CLARK, *Secretary*

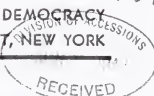
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Write Now



COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY  
11 WEST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK



Letters to the Editor -- "The Free Press is the Free Man's Privilege"

BULLETIN NO. 29

WHAT ARE AMERICAN SOLDIERS THINKING ABOUT THE FUTURE?

"Very little if at all" is the answer given by Drew Middleton, the brilliant young North African correspondent of the New York Times. Although the educational level of the American soldiers is considerably higher than that of their opposite numbers in the British and French armies, indifference and complacency mark their attitudes toward winning the peace.

Drew Middleton, himself only slightly older than the soldiers, has observed them "in Iceland, Britain, North Africa, in camps during maneuvers, aboard transports, and on trucks rolling to the front." He has no doubts whatever about their determination to smash through to victory. But, "It is in the organization of the world after victory that they are not interested." His findings, given in full in the lead article of the New York Times Magazine of May 2, may be digested as follows:

American soldiers want to go back to the same kind of world they knew in 1939. Few realize it can never be the same kind of world again.

United States pilots evidence little interest in the problems of global aviation after the war. They will tell you, "Why, the air's free, just as the ocean should be" - and then change the subject. Senior air officers encounter difficulty in interesting subordinates in the future of air power.

America's real position as a world power is not understood by our soldiers. They overestimate the importance of our industrial strength and underestimate the immense moral strength of the United States in world affairs.

They are unaware of their own power of shaping American policy in the post-war years. Rarely do they give attention to our relations with Britain, China, Russia, or the other United Nations.

Russia's position both now and after the war is little understood. Few soldiers have heard of the Anglo-Russian treaty.

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**RUMORS**  
(MADE IN GERMANY)

by **GEORGE BRITT**

*Published Jointly by the*  
**COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY**  
*and the*  
**NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE CAUSE  
AND CURE OF WAR**

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Pamphlet  
collection

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# #23

*The*

**COUNCIL**

**FOR**

**DEMOCRACY**

☆ ☆



*Dedicated to the Propagation of  
an American Faith in Democracy*

### *The Council Believes That*

- the Axis must be completely crushed. A peace based upon compromise or motivated by revenge would result in a more deadly attack upon our civilization.
- the common bond of the United Nations is the only path to victory and the only basis for an enduring peace.
- America has a permanent responsibility with the other free peoples to maintain the peace and security of the entire world. This is the only way to avoid a never-ending series of wars.
- discrimination against minorities is a form of disunion which threatens the liberties of all.
- freedom in war or peace demands a vigorous and well-informed public opinion, not passive acceptance of government controls. Increased government powers must bring increased citizens' participation in government.
- all power comes from the people. Extraordinary powers necessarily assumed by government in time of war are held in trusteeship for the people and must revert to them when a peaceful world is assured.
- we must prepare to open up after the war every opportunity for private initiative and individual freedom consistent with national and personal security.

**COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY**

**11 WEST 42 STREET**

**NEW YORK CITY**

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*Publications*  
OF THE  
COUNCIL  
FOR  
DEMOCRACY



**ANNOUNCEMENT**

**NAZI POISON**

An exposure of Hitler's divide-and-conquer tactics. It discusses anti-Semitism in the United States. No. 8, "Democracy in Action" series.

X-E 740  
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#26

## The Council For Democracy is working—

- To inspire the American people with a fighting faith;
- To help them understand the difference it will make to every one of us if we let the Axis take over the world;
- To combat the weaknesses of our democracy—intolerance, discrimination in any form, every violation of civil liberties, subversive and defeatist propaganda;
- To stimulate and guide practical aid by groups and communities to an all-out war effort and to the defense and strengthening of democracy on the home front.

Gift  
Public

MAY 28 1942

#27

PLAIN TALK:  
PRICES, SUBSIDIES  
AND CONGRESS



A Broadcast

*by*

RAYMOND GRAM SWING

*November 18th, 1943*

*Reprinted by the*  
COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY  
11 WEST 42ND STREET  
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.



# For Your Information

Memorandum from the COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY  
11 WEST 42nd STREET • NEW YORK

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#28

"The Council For Democracy is a national non-partisan, non-political organization of independent citizens committed to the preservation of the principles of genuine American democracy; of the American system of private enterprise and to the protection of the American rights of minority groups."

THE COUNCIL -- 1945

## 1. VETERAN REHABILITATION AND RE-EMPLOYMENT

Several vital aspects of the problem raised by the return to civilian life of discharged veterans have engaged the Council's attention. Already some 800,000 service men have been honorably discharged for reasons of age or disability. Brigadier General Hines, in charge of the Veterans' Bureau, estimates that by the end of 1944 there will be nearly 2,000,000.

The problem will be a staggering one. It involves not only re-integrating into industry, commerce and agriculture men who gave up their jobs to enter the service - jobs which have since been filled by other men or by women - but also the first employment of youths who have never been gainfully employed. It calls for the creation and proper allocation of reserve funds by private industrial and commercial units as a backlog for reconversion to peacetime operation during the period after cancellation of war contracts.

The Council has believed that, because of its non-partisan and non-political position, it was unusually well qualified to serve as a cooperating organization in the efforts to solve these momentous problems.

### A. Statement on Tax Problems

Consequently, the Council called together in June 1945 men representing industry and labor, and recognized authorities in the field of economics to examine the basic problem and to devise methods to meet the challenge. After six months of study and numerous meetings of this group, a report was prepared which has since been widely distributed to the Council's directors and to industrialists, labor leaders, research groups and economists.

Briefly, this statement presents the need for immediate tax revision to provide for tax-free reconversion funds which would serve as a production impetus during the transition period and thus insure the payment of wages and salaries to returned veterans where funds for this purpose are otherwise non-existent. As a second suggestion for the same ultimate purpose, the statement calls for an extension of the accounting period for the carry-back of losses against profits to either three to five years after the end of the war.

To date, more than 10,000 copies of this statement have been mailed to people whose influence can count in the implementation of the suggested solutions. This list will be further extended when funds are provided. The response received has been constructive as well as overwhelmingly favorable. (If you have not received a copy of this report, please let us know.)

### B. Further Studies

Further Council studies looking to early action are currently being made of these other aspects of the re-employment problem: staggered demobilization, resumption of interrupted education, occupational training, recovery of lost social security status.

## 2. RACE RELATIONS

The problems which seemed to us most acute were: the attitude of the Negro and white newspapers toward each other and toward the war problems of the Negro in American life, now and after the war; and the integration of the Negro into American industry.

During 1945, we have carried out the following projects in this field:

### A. A Conference on the Negro-White Press and Their Mutual Responsibilities

This two-day meeting at the Pennsylvania Hotel on May 7th and 8th was attended by Negro editors and white editors, representing 32 Negro and 10 white papers in 22 cities from coast to coast. This was the first conference of its kind in American history at

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**For Your Information**

H29

Memorandum from the COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY  
11 WEST 42nd STREET • NEW YORK

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